

LEAGUE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

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The Conspiracy Against the Independ-  
ence of the American Republic

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Those Americans who are familiar with their country's history, and who cherish a just pride in the heritage of independence won for them by the fathers, know that there were giants in those days, and that the conception of civil liberty which was perfected by Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin and Monroe was carried across the ocean to Europe to take root especially upon the soil of France. Time has served only to increase the intellectual stature and to emphasize the far-sighted statesmanship of these apostles of liberty. Gladstone declared that the Constitution of the United States was "the most perfect work ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man at a given time."

To our patriotic American citizens the light scorn expressed by their President for this heritage of liberty, echoed as it has been by a noisy clique, has brought consternation, caused pain and the keenest disappointment, and has led to fear that the foundations of our liberty may already have been seriously undermined. A careful study of the problem has revealed a conspiracy against democracy which for magnitude and for long and secret preparation has no parallel in the world's history—a conspiracy entered into between the American President and the League to Enforce Peace and aimed straight at the independence of the nation.

This conspiracy was made possible only because of the exigency of the World War and the clothing of the American Executive with arbitrary powers in order to win the war and save the country. Advantage has been skillfully taken of the country's danger in order to suppress important facts and to disseminate misleading information, almost from the moment that America entered the war. The main steps in the plot, considered in their chronological sequence have been: (1) the propaganda started in Europe to make the President appear as a great emancipator of the "plain people" of the world and offer them relief from their hard conditions of life through the talisman of a mysterious League of Nations; (2) a bludgeoning of the members of the Peace Conference, who were without interest in the League idea, to accept it and place it in advance of the program of making peace with Germany, and this by the threat of supporting the German doctrine of "freedom of the seas," arousing the socialist elements to overthrow the Allied governments, to withdraw from the conference, etc.; (3) a stupendous propaganda in favor of the League shaped to appeal to the emotions of the American people and so prevent any serious or thoughtful consideration of it; and (4) through a system of intrigue and broken promises to cheat the United States Senate out of its constitutional participation in the treaty-making process, and generally to prevent effective publicity being given to the criticism of the Covenant. These several steps, for purposes of convenience will here be considered in other than their chronological sequence.

Involved as main elements in the success of the plot have been: the "creation" of an official news service jealously guarded under direct control of the President and modeled upon the Official News Service of the late Imperial German Government; a \$100,000,000 war fund provided by Congress to be spent at the discretion of the Executive; the acceptance of censorship by the great press associations; the seizure of the ocean cables and the attempt to administer them under government control; the financial backing of Big Business due to the guarantee of foreign loans; and, most important of all, a ready acquiescence of the officials of the League to Enforce Peace. This organization has stopped at nothing so long as its object seemed likely to be attained.



To accomplish this sinister purpose, Mr. Wilson has capitalized the unequalled resources of his great country, the unbounded generosity of her citizens, the valor of her soldiers, and the crying future needs of Europe for American aid; so that he has been made to appear through skilfully directed propaganda to be, in fact, America. This acquisition he has wielded as a club over the heads of his colleagues at the Peace Conference. As the Hon. David Jayne Hill, former United States Ambassador to Germany, has expressed it:

"The United States was necessary to a victorious conclusion of the Great War, and it is equally necessary for the future maintenance of peace. Representing in his own person, as it appeared, the future policy of America, it was possible for the President at any time to order his ship, to abandon the Conference, and to leave the Entente Allies to face Germany alone. That decision would have created a great embarrassment for the exposed countries like Belgium and France. Such a desertion, it is true, would not have met the approval of the American people, but they would have been powerless to avert its consequences."

As we are all aware, Mr. Wilson did succeed in coercing his colleagues by applying this method, and his will was exercised to secure at least a part of his idea for a League of Nations by other and hardly less reprehensible methods. Mr. Frank H. Simonds, one of the ablest and most reliable of the correspondents at Paris, has told us how France was forced to give up her own stand and adopt the idea of a League of Nations. Mr. Wilson came to Paris, he says, resolved that there should be a League of Nations, but he found French interests fixed upon the salvation of France rather than upon the formulation of the principles of the League. He showed disapproval, and when France appealed to him to go and see the devastated regions, although he had held off the assembling of the Conference by a full month of triumphal journeys over Europe, he coldly refused the request. Says Mr. Simonds:

"I do not think that any single act of any man ever carried with it profounder disappointment than Mr. Wilson's refusal to go to the northern regions and see what the Boche had done. Little by little his course here had the effect at least of creating the impression that he cared nothing for the life or death of France, that he was not concerned with those things which the tragic years of war had burned into the soul of every French man and woman....."

"I do not think it possible accurately to represent how profound was the disappointment of France at this course of the American President. A sense first of desertion and then of utter isolation crept into the French heart, as more and more the American attitude toward France passed from mere coldness with respect to French necessities to open criticism and hardly concealed suspicion. I do not think one would exaggerate by saying that three months ago France believed the war won, and today, as a result of what has occurred here in the Peace Conference, there is something amounting to real terror lest the war shall be lost after all and France left alone again across the pathway of a Germany increased in power and population by the last war."

It came apparently well authenticated from the Peace Conference that when the League was "on the rocks" because France could not subscribe to a compact which left her defenseless against the traditional enemy, the situation was "saved" by an "American diplomat" notifying M.

Bourgeois "that President Wilson was very near the limit of his patience in the matter" and that it would have to be this league or no league at all. After consulting Premier Clemenceau a reluctant consent was given rather than leave France deprived of the good will of America.

Accustomed to a ministry quickly responsive to the people's will, France has failed to realize that Mr. Wilson has not represented America in this action, or that he went self-appointed to Paris after his direct appeal to the American people to approve whatever he should do had been turned down by a popular majority of 1,200,000 votes. Such blanket approval of his future actions he had already requested of the United States Senate, and it had been denied him. Opposition to his going to Europe at all had been very general throughout the country, yet he sailed away in great state and surrounded by a retinue and an escort such as has been rarely equaled by any other than an Oriental potentate.

In his valedictory address to the joint houses of Congress before sailing for Europe, the President said:

"It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they (American soldiers) offered their life's blood to obtain.....

"I shall be in close touch with you on this side of the water and you will know all that I do."

Touching upon his seizure of the ocean cables, he said.

"I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom, and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other," and he added of his trip, "I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such a mission."

Readers of the European news dispatches are aware how difficult it has been to secure any important news from the Peace Conference save only such inspired and highly colored political essays as those of David Lawrence, Richard Oulahan and Charles H. Grasty, always filled with adulation of the Presidents' actions; and we must conclude that the "close touch" which was to be maintained with the United States Congress has been limited to private dispatches to the President's mouthpiece upon the floor of the Senate. Senator Hiram Johnson of California has stated with force and with entire truthfulness:

"The heavy hand of a war-time Government has been held upon the press, until in the East the liberty of the press has passed into history; upon the people themselves the clutch has been maintained so that only that which the administration desired spoken should be expressed. National propaganda, for the first time in our history suppressing current events, has manufactured public opinion, and that opinion has been made but the echo of what the national propaganda has decreed. This deadening and perverting mind process has had its evil effects and has been one of the powerful agencies for preventing people from knowing the facts or the possibilities of the league of nations."

When the first form of the Covenant was made public at Paris, the President cabled a request that the Congress refrain from discussion of it until he could return and explain its provisions in person. He then planned his arrival in Washington to take place during the closing days of the session when the rush of appropriation bills made all discussion of the League impossible, and immediately thereafter he set sail for



France. He did not make good his promise to explain the terms of the Covenant, and so the opportunity was lost for a free discussion.

The many measures left without action, and the need of reconstruction legislation demanded that the new Republican Congress be at once called in special session, but this the President stubbornly refused. He said in explanation:

"It is not in the interest of the right conduct of public affairs that I should call the Congress in special session while it is impossible for me to be in Washington, because of a more pressing duty elsewhere, to co-operate with the Houses."

The Hon. Elihu Root, our greatest authority on constitutional law and a former Secretary of State of the United States, says of the constitutional right and duty of the Senate to fully deliberate upon and discuss the League of Nations:

"Under the Constitution it is the business of the Senate to take the lead in such a discussion, to compare the different opinions expressed in the several states, and to draft in proper form the amendments which the public judgment seems to call for. It is unfortunate that the Senate has not been permitted to perform that duty in this case. It seems to me that the Senate ought to have been convened for that purpose immediately after the fourth of March. In addition to the regular and extra sessions of the Congress, the Senate has convened separately forty-two times since it was first organized, ordinarily to confirm a few appointments or pass on unimportant treaties, never for any reason more important than exists now."

When in the following May the convening of Congress could no longer be put off, the President's mouthpiece upon the floor of the Senate set up the plea that since the Covenant was now a part of the treaty\*—and since it had been amended after being first published, any discussion of it was premature and improper until it had been submitted in its final form to Germany. When submitted to the German Government, published in that country and widely distributed over Europe, the text was still denied to the United States Senate and even to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committees. Copies which were sent from Germany are reported to have been intercepted by the Government. No unbiased person who has made any careful study of the political methods of Woodrow Wilson will doubt for a moment that this course of action was pursued throughout for any other purpose than to prevent a free and fair discussion of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

While opponents of the League were openly denounced as traitors, and passport regulations were so managed as to prevent their presence in Paris, its advocates were received there with open arms and afforded every facility for launching in America a campaign of stupendous proportions in its favor. Oscar S. Strauss, prominent pacifist and a director of the League to Enforce Peace, on returning from Paris in February made known in an interview that he "had established a perfect liason between his organization and the Official Commission of the Peace Conference at work on the Constitution of the League of Nations under the Chairmanship of President Wilson." The well-known pacifist, Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent, returned about a month later with the state-

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\*See note at end.

ment that for several months he had been the "Liason Officer of the League to Enforce Peace" at Paris.

A few days after Holt's return, and months before any copy of the text had been allowed to reach the co-ordinate treaty-making body of the country, T. J. Meek, Extension Secretary of the League to Enforce Peace, made public that "more than 30,000 volunteer speakers were being organized to explain the entire League of Nations to the American people," and he went on to say:

"Speakers are told that loyalty to the movement and to the organization does not demand their approval of every word in the Paris Covenant, but after the Covenant is amended and adopted at the Peace Conference and comes before the United States Senate, they are expected to urge its ratification. . . . .

"The Extension Department has bureaus which deal with labor, agriculture, the churches and women's organizations. Each of these is under a special secretary. Proof of the effectiveness of this work is the fact that the leading organizations representing these groups—for example, the American Federation of Labor, the Farmers' National Council, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Educational Association, and many of the well-known National Women's Organizations—have approved the League."

At the time this interview was given out, the propaganda work of the League to Enforce Peace had been going on vigorously for weeks, though the President's agents were urging the impropriety of discussion in those quarters which might be hostile. A distinguished body of advocates of the Wilson Covenant headed by Ex-President Taft and including Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Ex-Ambassador to Turkey, Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Ex-Minister to The Hague, Dean Brown of the Yale Divinity School, and Professor Wilson of Harvard, had "swung round the circle" to speak in mass meetings and expound the virtues of the League. That this type of political revival meeting was successful in achieving its end of "loading up" the people before effective counter-arguments could be put forward, is naively attested by Mr. Morgenthau in an address which he made at the conclusion of the tour. Of the audiences which had been addressed he said:

"It is astonishing how bewildered they all were at this problem, and with what intense interest they listened to the argument, and how all of them became persuaded of the duty of America to feel resolved that it is a great privilege to be the Samaritan for the Eastern Hemisphere. There was no hesitacy or half-heartedness in the approval given by all of them. Their resolutions of approval were passed with enthusiasm and unreservedly and from the depths of their souls."

In reading this naive confession there rise before us pictures of the old-time religious revival meetings in which the exhorter hurried the people to the altar before there was time for mature reflection upon the fateful step which they were taking, and one wonders whether the distinguished speakers of the party ever stopped to consider the ethics of their conduct.

Somewhat later a second group of speakers for the League consisting of President Lowell of Harvard University, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw swung round the circle and addressed mass meetings particularly in the home districts of those Senators who had



signed the "round robin" asking that the Covenant be not interwoven with the Peace Treaty, so as to permit action upon it without prejudice to an early conclusion of peace. Rabbi Wise, a pacifist who had opposed preparedness, is quoted by the New York Times as having said:

"Any one who deliberately undermines the work of President Wilson in his endeavor to bring about the League is guilty of moral treason and will be dealt with by the American people in due time. Any leader of the Governments of France, Britain or Italy who would dare get up and publicly declare that he was opposed to the League would not survive politically for twenty-four hours."

United States Senator Hiram Johnson has said of this stupendous propaganda:

"And long before we saw a line of this secret document a tremendous propaganda, financed with hundreds of thousands of dollars, obtained from clubs and organizations enthusiastic indorsements. Our people were taught to chant "promote peace and prevent war." The formula "promote peace and prevent war" swept over all the land, and its necessary corollary, before there was any league of nations at all, was the indorsement of the fantastic thing which feared the light in its creation and has denied to those most affected by it the slightest knowledge of the circumstances, events, and details of its composition. I received, just as other Senators did, innumerable resolutions before any one of us had the slightest conception of what the league of nations was, and the resolutions, in like tenor, have continued from that time to the present. Before publication of it various train loads of distinguished gentlemen were going about the country holding meetings and conventions in different localities advocating an undisclosed document dealing with the future of the Republic.

"Of course, when the document was ultimately given publicity, those who had in advance so hysterically and enthusiastically embraced it continued their advocacy. And while most of them grudgingly admitted what the President denied, that it required amendment, nevertheless, whether it had been amended or not, whether the most treasured policies of the Republic had been touched or destroyed, would not have altered the hectic hysteria of the league of nations men. That they have created a tremendous sentiment in this country by the repetition of their formula, 'Promote peace and prevent war,' is perhaps so. They rush upon the platform and demand of their auditors, 'Don't you want to prevent war?' and there is immediate unanimity in the response, 'Of course we want to prevent war.' Thereupon the advocates say, 'Inasmuch as you are against war and desire to prevent it, you must favor the league of nations.' And the ordinary man, accepting the statement, subscribes to the resolutions to 'promote peace and prevent war.'"

The propaganda has not entirely neglected the American soldier and sailor. When "my fourteen points" was not alone an unpleasant memory; as it is today, but a present peril as well, Mr. Wilson sought to convey to the Congress that he held a mandate from our sons fighting in the war to put through his program at the Peace Conference. In his Memorial Day address at the Suresnes cemetery at Paris but a few weeks ago he made it equally clear that it was for his League of Nations that they had given their life's blood.

It is hardly likely that the precise motives of all our fighting men were identical, though we feel assured that the vast majority of them fought



to defeat Germany, "Get the Kaiser," and save their country and the world from an immediate menace of autocracy. After a most gallant fight which had called forth the praise of the French, one American division is reported to have explained that they fought to show the Allies that Americans are not "too proud to fight;" and nothing is more certain than that as a body our soldiers and sailors did not fight in order to set up a League of Nations. That an American President should invade the sacredness of a soldiers' memorial service in order to promote such propaganda merely illustrates to what length this perverse mania has been carried. Ex-President Taft, who on the same Memorial occasion had presumed to address a body of Civil War veterans upon the League of Nations, received a rebuke in a notification that he would be permitted to speak only provided he choose a different subject.

But the propaganda instituted by the League to Enforce Peace did not stop with these more or less open methods. A leaf was borrowed from the book of the Germans, who have developed propaganda beyond that of any other national group and who have devised the form letters and telegrams used in opposition to a shipment of munitions. Senators who had dared to oppose the League or urge deliberation, such as Senators McCormick, Brandagee and Reed, found themselves denounced in letters coming from secretaries purporting to speak for the membership of various organizations, and their mail was filled with letters conforming more or less closely to definite patterns. The Secretary of the League to Enforce Peace had already made public how a special secretary had been placed in charge of each class of organization, such as labor, clergymen, professors, teachers, etc. Senator McCormick of Illinois wisely made public the nature of the persecution to which he was subjected from these sources. Writing late in March he said:

"The first letters that came to my office were from various women's clubs over Illinois. Many of them were practically alike. They consisted simply of letters from secretaries of the clubs, enclosing resolutions, asking Congress to stand behind Wilson and to approve a League of Nations. One glance at them was sufficient to indicate that they were the result of some concerted action or propaganda.

"The next letters in favor of the League were from ministers and churches. They indicated that the Federal Council of Churches had apparently got behind Mr. Wilson, without any regard as to the particular plan he might work out at Paris.....

"In none of these letters was there anything to indicate that the churches had given careful and analytical study to the Paris Covenant.

"Then came the next class of letters—those from the Professors of the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago. I had a torrent of them—practically all condemning me for signing the Lodge resolution. It was quite apparent that these professional gentlemen either had not read the resolution or else they preferred to disregard it. Because I signed that resolution, which urged the peace delegates to sign a peace first and then give careful and deliberate consideration to the formation of the League of Nations, the professors attempted to put me in a position of opposing any sort of a league.....

"At first my letters, coming as they did from groups which had been put to work carefully and methodically, were mostly in favor of Wilson and any sort of a League of Nations, whether it protected America or not.....

"Today my mail is ten to one opposed to the Paris Covenant in its

present shape. And if the form letters are excepted it is almost unanimously against it."

But the propaganda for the League which was fathered by Mr. Wilson, had its beginning far back of the American proceedings which have been referred to, and the agency of this propaganda was the official news bureau directed by George Creel, euphoniously denominated the Committee on Public Information. This Creel news bureau has been modelled upon that of the late German Empire and has existed in large part for the same purpose, namely the glorification of the nation's head, under whose control it has been maintained at the urgent insistence of the President.

Branches of the Creel committee were early established in the capitals of the Allied Nations, and in them, as in America, the attempt has successfully been made to convey the impression that America is Mr. Wilson—it is the old dictum of Louis XIV, "I am the State." The method chiefly employed has been to flood each Allied foreign country with portraits of Mr. Wilson on posters and post cards and also with translations of his speeches preaching the "new freedom"\* and his love for men "in plain jackets," and more especially the great League of Nations which was to end all wars and with them the burdens of military service and heavy taxation. A group of socialists under the direction of John Spargo organized as the Social Democratic League of America was sent abroad to preach the same doctrines in public addresses. Considerable bodies of men of the photographic section of the Signal Corps of the United States Army were detailed to prepare the thousands of photographs of Mr. Wilson and the official reels in which he figured. No occasion was too sacred to be invaded for this purpose. When Paris made a holiday in honor of the American President upon his arrival from America, the most conspicuous feature of the procession which moved up the beautiful avenue of the *Champs Elysées* between the thronging multitudes on either side was a lofty timbered platform mounted upon an American army truck from the perch of which a moving picture man continuously covered the President as he bowed to the throngs on either side. In Italy after the terrible disaster of Caporetto, when the Italian Government begged the American Government to send them even a single regiment of American troops, in order to recover the morale of the armies and the people, the request was long denied. The officers of the American Red Cross were however, specially enjoined in distributing food to state that this was given by the American Red Cross (of which organization Mr. Wilson is president) "to improve Italian morale."

Colonel Frederick Palmer of General Pershing's staff, who had charge of the censorship of the news in the A. E. F., has referred to this propaganda in the following paragraphs:

"The name of Wilson was better known than that of Washington or Lincoln from Warsaw to Paris and Scotland to Sicily. Our Government propaganda had spent many millions circulating his speeches and

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\*Mr. Wilson's book "The New Freedom" has been shown by testimony at the trials of I. W. W. offenders to have been the most popular of the books which influenced them to adopt their particular viewpoint, and according to report it was found necessary to withdraw it from circulation as a war measure.



posting his pictures, and inculcating the phrases of his speeches which bespoke world idealism. He might appeal to the people of Europe—for they had suffered most from the war—to support him in his policy.....

"But the real public opinion of the Allies was not with the crowds of the cities, which have the curiosity and the changeability of the crowds. It was with the adult voters of Europe under 45 who have been fighting. They are in uniform, and, if publicly, they were not privately, voiceless. What they think and what they feel go home to the mothers and fathers in the peasant homes and the humble homes of the cities with an influence more telling than the cheers of the crowds. They are not soldiers by profession, but citizens—the citizens who will mould the future. They have learned to think in simple terms in face of death."

There can be no doubt that in Italy particularly the result of Mr. Creel's propaganda was that the personnel of the crowds looked upon Mr. Wilson almost as a second Messiah. Let Mr. Spargo, the socialist who was speaking for the President's policies in Italy, relate the conditions when he talked there in 1918. Whenever he referred to "President Wilson and to America's idealism as interpreted by him and to the proposal of the League of Nations, there was invariably loud cheering and unbounded enthusiasm. It was not the cheering of politeness to a visitor, but the passionate cheering of men who rested all their faith on the American people and in the program set forth by President Wilson." As Mr. Wilson rode in triumph through the streets of Italian cities, the cry, *Il salvatore*, (The Savior), went up repeatedly. In his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House on the eve of his return to Europe, Mr. Wilson painted this pathetic picture of an incident of his triumphal journey to Rome shortly before the assembling of the Peace Conference:

"When I was in Italy a little limping group of wounded Italian soldiers sought an interview with me. I could not conjecture what it was they were going to say to me, and with the greatest simplicity, with a touching simplicity, they presented me with a petition in favor of the League of Nations. Their wounded limbs, their impaired vitality were the only argument they brought with them. It was a simple request that I lend all the influence that I might happen to have to relieve future generations of the sacrifices that they had been obliged to make. That appeal has remained in my mind as I have ridden along the streets in European capitals and heard cries of the crowd for the League of Nations."

Of this incident the *Providence Journal* under the editorial direction of Mr. John R. Rathom, whose wonderful success in uncovering the German plots against the life of the nation played so important a rôle, has this to say:

"There are two things about this statement which make it more than ordinarily interesting. The first is that the incident of the interview "sought" with Mr. Wilson by wounded Italian soldiers, when they presented him with a petition in favor of the League of Nations, was a little piece of propaganda worked up personally by Mr. George Creel, who himself headed the delegation."

How unsubstantial was in reality the imposing edifice of Wilsonian allegiance which the Creel advertising bureau had reared upon Italian soil, was to be revealed when Woodrow Wilson in the role of coercing

his Italian colleague at the Peace Conference presumed to appeal over the heads of the constituted Italian authorities to the sovereign Italian people. That unobtrusive voice which Colonel Palmer tells us was not heard in the street crowds, but whose potent influence he so accurately gaged—the fathers and mothers of the soldiers—rallied behind the Government to give a prompt and decisive response to this attack upon national rights. The socialistic manifestations were found to have been largely noise and bluster, the *Via Wilson* in Milan was promptly renamed *Via Fiume*, Wilson commemorative tablets which had been erected in the various cities were covered from sight, and our Government found it necessary to hastily recall Americans from the country. No idol was ever more quickly overthrown, for, “Long live President Wilson” now became “Down with Wilson.”

An only less complete change of sentiment has appeared in France, and it is an earnest that all which is required to reveal to the public the menace of the Wilson Covenant of the League of Nations is to kick away the screen, tear off the disguise of the news camouflage, and let in the full light upon this vast scheme of propaganda instituted by an autocratic and self-centered Executive who has been clothed with arbitrary powers as a war measure, and who has dared to believe that he can coerce the United States Senate to acquiesce in a defiance of the provisions of the American Constitution.

Says the Hon. David Jayne Hill, the distinguished diplomat and historian:

“The circumstances in which this country has been placed by the President’s decision to carry into execution a policy in contradiction of all the traditions of the Republic, find no parallel in the history of any free people in the enjoyment of constitutional liberty.”

And again he says:

“This defiance assumed what every autocratic usurpation of authority assumes, namely, that power could be invoked to sustain it. In this case it would no doubt be an attempt, in the nominal interest of peace, to bring political pressure to bear upon refractory Senators, in order to compel them to yield to a superior will. It requires no reflection to perceive that if this were done and were successful, it would mark the extinction of representative and even of constitutional government in the United States. That it was ever even contemplated indicates a departure from the principles on which our Government is based which should awaken a deep concern for the future and call attention to the perils of autocratic as distinguished from representative democracy.”

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

(December 20, 1919)

Since the above was published in the *Detroit Free Press*, much new light has been thrown upon this conspiracy directed against representative government in the United States.

It will be remembered that following upon the famous White House dinner of March 4th, at which the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign affairs were the President’s guests and at which opposition to the League of Nations in the form promulgated by Mr. Wilson was frankly expressed, the President issued a threat that he would have his “Covenant” so intertwined with the Treaty of Peace that it would not be in the power of the United States Senate to separate it, and that body



would willy-nilly be compelled to adopt it without the crossing of a t or the dotting of an i. Thereupon the coordinate treaty-making power of the government, which had been so superciliously ignored and flouted, sent out its warning in the form of a round robin signed by thirty-seven Senators—a sufficient number to defeat the treaty—and formally notified the Peace Council that unless it were modified so as to eliminate the objectionable articles of the Covenant—unless thoroughly Americanized—they would refuse to ratify the treaty. In his valedictory address delivered the following evening at the Metropolitan Opera House, the President said:

“When that treaty comes back, gentlemen on this side will find the Covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the Covenant that you cannot dissect the Covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure.”

How President Wilson made good his threat of defiance, in so far as the Peace Council was concerned, has been told in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Oct. 4, 1919, by Mr. William Allen White, the representative at Paris of a syndicate of American newspapers, and this notwithstanding the fact that he has been an ardent advocate of the Wilson Covenant:

“while the President was absent in America the whole American Commission agreed with the other peace commissioners that there should be two documents—a treaty and a League Covenant. The American Commissioners sent Colonel House down to Brest to notify the President what they had done. The matter was signed, sealed and delivered. It took the President three minutes on Friday at Brest to annul the whole agreement between his commissioners and the Peace Conference and to declare that there would be one document and one only.

“Saturday morning the French, feeling that they could win the President over, announced that there would be two documents.

“Saturday night Colonel House told us there would be one document.

“Sunday morning the French again insisted that there would be two—and then a funny thing happened.

“Tuesday we American newspaper men were all summoned to meet Lord Robert Cecil and discuss his later draft of the League of Nations. We went up to the Hotel Astoria, the British Headquarters, where we found Lord Robert.....who innocently discussed the various phases of the League without telling us why he called us.

“Then some inquisitive reporter said: ‘What about separating the Covenant and the Treaty?’

“Without batting an eye or moving a muscle of his fine sensitive face Lord Robert Cecil said: ‘I am authorized to say on behalf of the British delegation that there will be but one document.’

“Then we knew the purpose of the meeting. In some horse trade or other back of the scenes in the secret place of the most high the President had made some sort of a dicker with the British to desert the French in the matter of the two documents, and the announcement was made in that way. After that the French never squeaked again about the separation of the League and the Treaty. Probably Colonel House put the deal through.”

In different language the facts have been given the public by Frederick Moore, the New York *Tribune’s* correspondent at Paris, and by Ray Stannard Baker, the successor to Colonel House in the President’s close

confidence. The proposal to thus by intrigue defeat Senate action was made by Ex-President Taft in his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House on March 5th.

To learn what inducement it was which made the British Government consent to become an accessory in this conspiracy to defeat representative government in the United States, we shall probably have to wait until the memoirs of the personages in the Council have been published. By many it is believed that the six to one voting power in the League Assembly which was granted to Great Britain constituted the *quid pro quo*.

The consequence of this intrigue has been that the Senate of the United States has practically been given no opportunity to reject the Covenant outright, but only to Americanize it before ratification. This has been done by a decisive majority, and the Republican majority has voted for ratification of the Treaty with these reservations. Acting under orders from Mr. Wilson, their party head, the Democratic minority have been able to prevent an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the body which is necessary for ratification.

The President has thus by his own act killed the child of his creation, and the responsibility for the defeat of the Treaty must also rest upon him. Americans have now learned that it is within the power of their chief public servant to play the rôle of their master and dictator, and that, no matter how much his acts may be disapproved and this disapproval be expressed in votes, there is no effective redress possible before his term of office expires. Perhaps more than any other form of government, except that of Turkey, our American system lends itself to the purposes of any despot who may be placed in power as its Chief Executive.





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